

R E P O R T R E S U M E S

ED 015 228

24

UD 004 950

URBAN DISADVANTAGED PUPILS, A SYNTHESIS OF 99 RESEARCH REPORTS.

BY- MCCLOSKEY, ELINOR F.

NORTHWEST REGIONAL EDUCATIONAL LAB., PORTLAND, ORE

REPORT NUMBER BR-6-2871

PUB DATE FEB 67

CONTRACT OEC-4-7-062871-3059

EDRS PRICE MF-\$0.50 HC-\$2.44 59P.

DESCRIPTORS- *DISADVANTAGED YOUTH, *INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS, *EDUCATIONAL NEEDS, *ATTITUDES, *RESEARCH REVIEWS (PUBLICATIONS), SLUM SCHOOLS, PSYCHOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS, ENVIRONMENTAL INFLUENCES, ECONOMIC DISADVANTAGEMENT, SLUM ENVIRONMENT, TEACHER ATTITUDES, TEACHER CHARACTERISTICS, HOUSING, STUDENT BEHAVIOR, LIMITED EXPERIENCE, FAMILY LIFE, ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE, EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES, SELF CONCEPT,

THIS DESCRIPTION OF THE CHARACTERISTICS AND EDUCATIONAL NEEDS OF URBAN DISADVANTAGED PUPILS IS A SYNTHESIS OF 99 RESEARCH REPORTS. THE RESEARCH SUGGESTS THAT SUCH CHILDREN LIVE IN A WORLD OF ISOLATION, LIMITED EXPERIENCE, AND REJECTION. HOUSING CONDITIONS, A DEMORALIZING NEIGHBORHOOD, AND A DISORGANIZED FAMILY LIFE ALL CONTRIBUTE TO THE DISADVANTAGED CHILD'S GENERAL IMPOVERISHMENT. THE ENVIRONMENT AFFECTS THE CHILD'S HEALTH, ATTITUDES, AND VALUES, AND HE DEVELOPS FEELINGS OF INADEQUACY AND ANTAGONISM. THESE ATTITUDES, AS WELL AS THE DISADVANTAGED PUPIL'S UNCERTAINTY ABOUT THE VALUE OF AN EDUCATION, ARE CARRIED INTO THE CLASSROOM AND AFFECT HIS ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE. WHILE NEGRO GIRLS GENERALLY ACHIEVE BETTER THAN NEGRO BOYS, THE READING ACHIEVEMENT AND I.Q. SCORES OF ALL DISADVANTAGED PUPILS REFLECT SERIOUS CUMULATIVE RETARDATION. THESE SCORES ARE A REFLECTION OF THE CHILD'S EARLY EXPERIENCES RATHER THAN A MEASURE OF HIS POTENTIAL. MOREOVER, DISADVANTAGED PUPILS ARE NEGATIVELY INFLUENCED BY INADEQUATE EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES AND INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS. SLUM SCHOOLS ARE UNDERSTAFFED AND HAVE A HIGH RATE OF TEACHER TURNOVER, AND TEACHERS ARE OFTEN INEXPERIENCED AND UNPREPARED FOR WORK WITH THE DISADVANTAGED. FINALLY, RECENT STUDIES HAVE SHOWN THAT TEACHERS' EXPECTATIONS AND PERCEPTIONS OF PUPILS DIFFER FOR WHITE AND NEGRO CHILDREN, AND FOR CHILDREN OF DIFFERENT SOCIAL CLASSES. PERCEIVED BY THE TEACHERS AS INTELLECTUALLY LIMITED AND MISBEHAVING, THE LOWER-CLASS CHILD WILL SUBSEQUENTLY ACHIEVE LESS AND BEHAVE LESS SATISFACTORILY. (LB)

ED015228

Urban Disadvantaged Pupils

Characteristics
Environments
Potentials

A Synthesis of
99 Research Reports

By Elinor F. McCloskey

Northwest Regional
Educational Laboratory



BR-6-2871

PA 24

Urban Disadvantaged Pupils

Capabilities
Attitudes
Aspirations
Hopes
Interests
Motives
Self-images
Achievements

Handicaps
Hostilities
Aversions
Fears
Families
Housing
Neighborhoods
Peer groups

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE
PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS
STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL OFFICE OF EDUCATION
POSITION OR POLICY.

A Synthesis of 99 Research Reports

By Elinor F. McCloskey

Northwest Regional
Educational Laboratory

40 004 950

A publication of
The Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory
400 Lindsay Building, 710 S.W. Second Avenue
Portland, Oregon 97204

February 1967

FOREWORD

This publication is a result of an extensive review of research on the characteristics and educational needs of the urban disadvantaged pupil. Originally, the work was undertaken to aid the planning of specific activities for our Laboratory program for the improvement of education for culturally different children. Our decision to publish is made with the conviction that the information in this report will be of assistance to teachers, administrators and others interested in understanding the needs of these students.

Lawrence D. Fish
Executive Director

Portland, 1967

CONTENTS

Foreword	iii
Concepts of Disadvantaged Children	7
Family, Housing and Neighborhood	12
Attitudes, Values and Interests	23
Student Characteristics	37
Facilities and Expenditures	42
Teachers	42
Epilogue	45

URBAN DISADVANTAGED PUPILS

Characteristics, Environments and Potentials

Let history, facts and moral principles serve as guides.

Civilizations are influenced largely by perceptions of goals and by new feasibilities. For 2,000 years, with good reason and effect, moral and political leaders have proclaimed the dignity and rights of all men. Those principles have been proven both humane and feasible. Clearly, during recent centuries substantial enlargements of life in societies governed by consent of the governed have demonstrated that those moral concepts are both right and practical. Millions of serfs have become free men. Given opportunity, they have demonstrated immense capacity to perceive progressively better ways of living.

Today the technological and intellectual fruits of free men's historic achievements provide unparalleled resources and urgent need to extend and accelerate the full development of human capabilities. Now cybernetics and automation free ever larger portions of people and economic resources for further development of human potentials. The interdependence of people in this atomic-space age requires a swift and massive pursuit of that feasibility.

Numerous local, state and national groups are analyzing the educational, organizational and administrative problems emerging from the rapid growth of cities and metropolitan areas. Fortunately, psychologists, sociologists,

economists and educators are enlarging similar efforts to identify and attack the human problems that are accentuated by urbanization.

During the past century the growth of urban cultures has brought a wealth of new opportunities and benefits to large percentages of citizens. Increasingly, however, crowded slums, declines in availability of unskilled work and changing family relationships confront millions of urban citizens with new needs and new problems. The harsh facts are that at present millions of adults and children are obviously unable to make satisfactory adjustments. They are impoverished, demoralized, and alienated. Quite understandably, many protest their lot.

Conant (12) is among the many who have analyzed the extremely complex educational organization and administration problems aggravated by metropolitan growth, inner city deterioration, defacto segregation and conflicting public opinion. Hundreds of local, state and national groups are actively searching for fair and rational bases for policy and administration. Their prolonged and frustrating work is fundamental because it determines the circumstances within which teachers work. Realists are aware that, even with heroic effort, satisfactory solutions will require decades. In the meantime the lives of millions of children will be shaped by whatever instruction they receive. Careful consideration of information about the ways present circumstances and change affect pupils' outlooks and motives will help teachers to better nurture their capacities.

In the United States enlightened citizens are aware that approximately one-fourth of our children and adults remain inadequately prepared to participate

in either the responsibilities or benefits of a technological society. Teachers are familiar with such terms as "underprivileged," "deprived" and "disadvantaged." Educators, statesmen and industrial leaders have avowed, in view of the nation's novel and growing affluence, this state of affairs is unjust, needless and, as recent events demonstrate, hazardous. A tardy but massive national effort to correct inadequacies and inequities is in progress.

Both teachers and school administrators can help pursue that purpose most effectively if they give thought to what is known about the characteristics and needs of the human beings they seek to assist. To facilitate both planning and practice, this document summarizes facts and concepts evolved from reliable research.

Avoid the confusion that results from semantic haggling about definitions of "deprivation," "retardation," "aptitudes" and "intelligence." Much more precise definitions of these concepts are urgent because precision will enlarge our capability to educate. Regardless of terminology, research at hand provides useful guides for substantial improvement of present curricula and instruction. There is an obligation to ponder and utilize that wealth of useful information. Some major facts are clear.

Disadvantaged pupils have immense potentials. Let that fact stand tall and bold as a guide. For, except in that basic context, other facts about pupils' limitations and difficulties can too easily be interpreted as reasons for doing less than is possible. Both history and the modern science of aptitude measurement indicate that the relatively limited capabilities and achievements

of disadvantaged pupils are due mainly to restrictions of external environment, not to their internal potentials. Regardless of how "intelligence," "aptitude" and "achievement" are defined, research provides ample evidence that, at present, inadequate and inappropriate schooling is largely responsible for stultification of many capacities. With better schooling, capabilities can be enlarged. Dozens of enriched instructional and counseling programs demonstrate that most disadvantaged children can achieve on a level with their middle-class counterparts. Their abilities for continued learning can be widened and their aspirations can be heightened.

Poverty is an overriding condition of disadvantaged children.

Inadequate family incomes constrict children's experience and outlooks. Poverty imposes deadening burdens of abstinence, negation and humiliation. Definitions of inadequate income vary, but there is general agreement that about one-fourth of United States families have earnings falling in that category. About half reside in cities, about half in rural areas.

Abnormally large percentages of disadvantaged pupils live in disorganized families. Among these families, unemployment, divorce and desertion rates are high. Abnormally high percentages of fathers are unemployed. Consequently, large percentages of mothers work out-of-home; not from choice, but from stark need to provide necessities. Sociologists note that the Negro family is essentially matriarchial and the male-models with which many children live are not appropriate for emulation.

In cities, disadvantaged children tend to reside in overcrowded slum neighborhoods. Their associations and experiences are confined largely to those impoverished environments. Thus deprived neighborhoods reinforce limited concepts and outlooks originating in inadequate homes.

Disadvantaged children have relatively impoverished self-concepts. From quite realistic appraisals of their experiences, these children have acquired the attitude that they cannot achieve as much as their middle- or upper-class counterparts. Consequently, their expectations and aspirations are correspondingly low. Many have learned to "not hope for too much." As a result, they are less motivated by goals that fuel the efforts of pupils who have acquired larger aspirations from richer experiences.

Disadvantaged children actually believe that they are inadequate. They feel incapable of achieving as much as their more widely advantaged classmates. That feeling grows from years of quite accurate observation that, in fact, their achievements are relatively slow and low. The content and processes of conventional school programs provide disadvantaged children with relatively slight motivation to learn. Most instruction implies goals these children perceive to be unobtainable. Years of low achievement or failure verify those perceptions. Consequently, these students tend to reject teaching. Many acquire negative attitudes.

Generally, disadvantaged pupils do learn less and their learning skills are poorly developed. From the beginning of their school years, and throughout, they achieve less than others. Their innate capacities for self-direction are less

developed. These students are less self-sufficient in school situations. They seek and require more teacher guidance. Such deficits of development and learning are cumulative. They progressively reduce the emotional and cognitive bases essential for normal rates of acquiring more complex concepts and capabilities. Consequently, as years pass, disadvantaged children tend to become progressively more retarded.

Disadvantaged children have not developed sufficient cognitive and reasoning skills essential for typical rates and dimensions of school progress.

These deficiencies accumulate partly from prolonged restriction to the limited experiences of culturally and intellectually impoverished homes and neighborhoods. They are supplemented by instructional processes inadequate to correct deficiencies.

Disadvantaged children's communication capabilities are elementary. Analytical conversations with adults at home are limited. There, children learn think and speak largely about concrete matters of immediate import. Generalities and long-range goals are seldom discussed or recognized.

Prescriptions for schooling essential to enlarge the motivation and achievements of disadvantaged children are legion. That is desirable because their problems and needs are complex. However, most analyses indicate three general and major needs.

A development of reading, writing and speaking capabilities requisite for thought, association and work in the modern world.

A substantially broadened sequence of cultural, social and civic experiences.

General and specialized training essential for earning incomes in modern occupation.

A summary of research indicating the characteristics and special needs of disadvantaged children follows. It enlarges on Terman and Lima's observations that children's interests are influenced by experience and environment, (95) as well as human relationships, perceptions, aspirations and apprehensions.

It is necessary to avoid the error of stereotyping the characteristics of individuals as identical to the averages, or extremes of groups or subgroups. Research shows clearly that no "average" individual, nor any "average" urban disadvantaged child, exists. However, facts demonstrate that recognizable economic, sociological and psychological factors do generally affect the lives of most impoverished children.

To work effectively, all teachers need working concepts of disadvantaged pupils and of the factors that impede development of their potentials. The research reviewed illustrates the limiting influences of deprived families, homes, neighborhood environments, attitudes, values and interests.

CONCEPTS OF DISADVANTAGED CHILDREN

Many researchers conceive the "disadvantaged" as a single group regardless of race, religion, sex or age. That is a useful concept for some purposes. It is important to note, however, that in most American cities, Negroes constitute a distinct subgroup. Thompson points out, "No matter how social class may be defined--whether in terms of wealth, education, style of life, occupation, or aspiration--approximately 70 to 80 percent of the Negro population in large northern cities are lower class." (96)

While income is not a complete index of class, it is a key characteristic of people who live in disadvantaged situations. (94) Family incomes of less than \$3,000 or \$4,000 a year are warning signals. They are inadequate to finance necessities, let alone the books, travel and contact with cultural enrichments from which wider perceptions can grow.

National income statistics show the comparatively low living levels of non-white urban families. The median non-white family income is only about 53 percent that of white families. (13)

SERIOUS POVERTY

The Institute of Urban Studies conceives any family with an annual income of less than \$3,000 to be seriously impoverished. (94) Keyserling notes that even larger incomes are inadequate for significant living. (54) Newton has assembled evidence showing that low incomes tend to be "inherited" over two or three generations. (69) Thus, the limited views and aspirations of impoverished parents are transmitted to children.

The use of any arbitrary income level to distinguish between the advantaged and disadvantaged can be misleading if one assumes that all incomes of a given size provide equal buying power or are utilized to meet the needs of equal numbers of people. Such is not the case. For example, due to the larger-than-average size of Negro families, their incomes must meet the needs of more individuals than those of their white counterparts. Of equal importance, most low income urban families are caught in what Grier and Grier call the "captive market." (40) In neighborhood stores they pay higher-than-average prices for

inferior commodities and services. As Batchelder observes, \$3,000 or \$4,000 seldom buys as much for poor families as for those with better earnings. (6) Hughes has aptly concluded, "...it costs more to be poor." (51) Hauser found, "In Negro families with children under 18 years of age, 62 percent...are being reared in poverty." Nine out of ten Negro families with five or more children eat meals that average less than 26 cents per person. (49)

DEPRIVATION

The Conference on Economic Progress provided evidence indicating that while many families residing in urban disadvantaged areas have annual incomes exceeding \$3,000, they live in circumstances conceived as "deprivation." (13) That term has been defined as a level of living slightly above the poverty line but below minimum requirements for health and reasonable comfort. Deprivation generally connotes marginal living. Annual family incomes range between \$4,000 and \$6,000. Income based definitions of poverty are imprecise. Such measures of deprivation do not accurately indicate the extent which these families live below acceptable levels of health and decency. Ferman, Kornbluh, and Haber observe, "Regardless of where the 'poverty line' is set, it is considerably below what is needed to lead a full and fruitful life in American society." (28)

RELATED SYNDROME

Low income is a basic characteristic of the urban disadvantaged, and related characteristics have obvious humane and educational implications. Hunter observes, "...deprivation may be of money, opportunity, of social status, of free choice, of civil rights, or skills, or hope of the future." (52)

Both Haubrich (46) and Edwards (24) have noted that in many cities large percentages of the poor are relative newcomers who have migrated to urban areas in the past two decades. Regardless of race, few are integrated into local civic or social organizations. In most communities more permanent residents make only limited efforts to welcome low-income newcomers. Both the suburban movement of the past four decades and the recent reaction to "open housing" proposals demonstrate that their arrival is resented by many central city residents. Open conflicts often develop. Political precinct committeemen testify few members of mobile families register to vote.

The poor and deprived are irregularly employed. A report of the Conference on Economic Progress indicates in some groups as many as one-fourth of the family wage earners are unemployed. (13)

Harrington has noted unemployment for Negro men more than doubles that of whites. (44) Further analysis shows the Negro unemployment rate higher than white for every major occupation group. (90) An abnormally high incidence of chronic physical and mental health problems are inevitable results.

Because Negro adults average only an eighth grade education, (13) most are employed in poorly paid manual, service and operative occupations. (33) These "...menial and unrewarding jobs yield marginal subsistence for most ghetto families." (10) Inadequate incomes are accompanied by correspondingly low levels of morale and self-respect.

The experiences and perceptions of most impoverished children are constricted and distorted. Although the Negro disadvantaged child is less aware of, or disturbed by, scarcity than his middle-class counterpart, it bears heavily on his family relationships, his attitudes, habits and aspirations. (19)

In his February 1963 Civil Rights Message to Congress, President John F. Kennedy summarized dismal facts assembled by Harris Wofford of the Civil Rights Commission: "The Negro baby born in America today, regardless of the section of the nation in which he is born, has about half as much chance of completing high school as a white baby born in the same place on the same day, one-third as much chance of completing college, one-third as much chance of becoming a professional man, twice as much chance of becoming unemployed, about one-seventh as much chance of earning \$10,000 a year, a life expectancy which is seven years shorter, and the prospects of earning only half as much."

Newton, enumerating some common characteristics of a child living in disadvantaged circumstances, observes that he:

...is a member of a submerged but visible cultural minority. His limited horizons in his limited life function as a depressant to his motivation, aspirations and (thus to his achievement).

He frequently has contradictory attitudes toward self and others with low self-concept and the resultant exaggerated positive and negative attitudes toward others.

The socio-cultural standards of his family (and neighborhood) are noncomplementary to social stability and academic achievement--hypermobility, family instability, distorted model relationships, housing inadequacy, economic insufficiency, as well as hyper and hypo stimulation.

He is usually a member of a family in which there are less than two full generations of literacy.

He frequently performs several years below grade expectancy on verbal tests, but often demonstrates normal learning potential on non-verbal tests.

His styles and modes of perceptual habituation do not complement the emphases which are important to traditional academic success.

He has marked weakness in utilizing abstract cognitive processes (due to vocabulary difficulties) and favors concrete, stimulus-bound learning situations. (69)

FAMILY, HOUSING AND NEIGHBORHOOD

The typical disadvantaged Negro child grows up in an environment characterized by isolation, constriction and rejection. (78) He lives in an "encapsulated" community which shelters and, at the same time, separates him from the wider society. He is confronted with tensions and opposing forces that bear on him from within and without his community. (30)

In 1965, the U.S. Department of Labor Office of Policy Planning and Research reported a sympathetic effort to ascertain facts about the extent of difficulties and disruptions confronting children and adults of the nation's Negro families. That document reveals:

One-third of the nation's non-white children live in broken homes.

In 17.3 percent of Negro families, the husband does not reside at home as compared with 3.4 percent for whites.

More than one-fourth of non-white men are unemployed at some time during each year.

Almost 25 percent of non-white families are headed by a woman, compared with 7 percent of white families.

In 1965 almost 14 percent of Negro children received federal aid to dependent children as compared with 2 percent of white children. That is a 7 to 1 ratio. At some time during their lives 56 percent of the nation's Negro children receive such aid as compared with 8 percent of white children.

The Negro illegitimacy ratio is eight times that of the white population. (67)

The "extended family" is characteristic of non-white disadvantaged households. The residence quite generally houses aunts, uncles, grandparents and lodgers. (79) In many cases the confusion and frustrations born of such conditions are complicated by disruption of normal family functions and relationships. Clark, (10) Edwards, (24) and Hauser (48) report how the organization of many Negro families differ from that of typical middle-class whites. More fathers, when present, are irregularly employed. Many are demoralized and unable to fulfill traditional male roles of father and household head. More mothers, usually employed in poorly paid occupations requiring work at irregular hours, are absent from home. Consequently, larger portions of child care responsibilities are haphazardly performed by relatives. (33) Silberman highlights the import of those facts by noting, "...in a world in which having a father is equated with being born with a silver spoon in your mouth, help is needed." (90)

The high percentage of broken Negro homes (19) adds to children's dependence on relatives and friends for moral support. Only three-quarters of Negro families in the United States are intact as compared with nine-tenths of white families. (24) Comparing Negro children's home life with that of white middle-class children, Glaser and Moynihan observe, "...more Negro children

live apart from parents and relatives...more live in crowded homes, more have lodgers and other related and unrelated persons living with them." (33)

Bloom, Davis and Hess note, "A large proportion of these [deprived] youth come from homes in which the adults have minimal levels of education. Many of them come from broken homes, where poverty, large family size, broken home discrimination, and slum conditions further complicate the picture." (36) Glazer and Moynihan add, "...the incidence of these problems among Negroes is enormous, and even those who escape them feel them as a close threat." (9)

Deutsch has pointed out that relationships between adults and children are of larger psychological importance than the number of people living together as a family. (19) Yet, when excessively large families and relatives with inadequate incomes are crowded into small quarters, struggles for space, attention and privacy drastically impair satisfactory relationships. (6)

Of particular psychological importance is the fact that the mother in Negro families is more likely to hold a steady job than the father. Wider job opportunities for Negro women (33) have created Negro family employment patterns which reverse the usual white male breadwinner role. That reversal imposes an abnormally high economic risk on Negro families. Ornati provides facts about income and employment stability demonstrating, "...the risk of poverty for a family headed by females is high and growing." (72)

This reversal of male-female economic roles is traditional in the Negro family. (24) Since the days of slavery, the Negro family has been, for the most part, matriarchial, even when an adult male is present. (19) This tradition has

contributed to the relatively dominant position of women, (3) and the lesser role of men. While neither matriarchial nor patriarchial families are inherently superior, Erickson notes, "...an inbalanced male-female presence is never good and becomes increasingly bad as the child grows older." (26)

The matriarchial family, combined with the large percentage of male absences from the families, has influenced the masculine role expectation for Negro boys. They have fewer masculine success models. More often than their white counterparts, they perceive prospects of emulating only negative or depressing models. Silberman observes, "To anyone walking through the Negro neighborhoods of any large city--and to the children who grow up in them--few sights are more familiar than the groups of idle Negro men congregating at street corners." (90) On the basis of interviews designed to ascertain the effects of unemployment on adult and youthful males, Berry made similar observations. (8)

Other economic issues bear upon the ability of the Negro family to subsist. Negro incomes have not advanced as rapidly as incomes of whites. As automation outmodes manual tasks and makes new occupations more technical, comparatively high percentages of Negroes are displaced and relatively low percentages possess the training required for employment in more complex jobs. Miller has assembled evidence showing that disproportionate percentages of Negroes subsist at whatever levels pension and public assistance make possible. (64)

FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

Working mothers have relatively little time for physical care of children. In impoverished homes children commonly assume responsibility for their own meals and for those of parents and others living in the household. Consequently, strong sibling ties, evolved from mutual responsibilities, often appear at an early age. (19)

The children of impoverished and disorganized families generally roam the streets without supervision at comparatively early ages. There they acquire independence and strong peer group relationships. (3) Bloom, Davis and Hess highlighted the reasons for such developments by noting, "The child usually turns to his peers for more satisfying relations than he has with adults. For this as well as for other reasons, the peer group becomes central in the life of the lower-class child far earlier than it does for middle-class children." (9)

Low-income Negro families are deficient in traditional white middle class parent-child relationships. Intellectual stimulation between adult and child is relatively slight. Adults seldom talk with children. (98) Parents who work at physical tasks for long hours, often during evening hours, are too tired or inaccessible for conversation with children. (41) Consequently, schools must compensate for the paucity of verbal stimulation in childhood years. (90)

Due to their limited educational background, parents have slight knowledge of ways to help children succeed in intellectual tasks. (63) Bloom, Davis and Hess observe: "Concern of parents for basic necessities of life, low level of educational development of the parents, frequent absence of male

parents, lack of interaction between children and adults all conspire to reduce stimulation, language development and intellectual development of such children." (9)

Parent relationships with children are generally categorical. Parents give children arbitrary verbal directions with little explanation of reasons why. Authority tends to override the child's natural curiosity and to restrict opportunity to explore his environment. (50) For discipline, parents rely heavily on external physical controls and little on the affection essential for development of internal controls. Riese believes that the paucity of harmonious interplay among family members are "...results of unreflective living. The individual cannot find himself. Since he does not integrate his experiences, he fails to mature and his resourcefulness is diminished." (78)

Yet, as Edwards observes, "...many parents, particularly mothers, are warm and concerned individuals who, despite their problems, persist in their desire and sacrificial efforts to have their children become respectable and productive citizens." (24) This pursuit of that vague goal is impaired by environment, the continual apprehensive struggle for necessities, and lack of knowledge.

HOUSING

Harrington cites poor housing as one of the most pervasive and demoralizing aspects of poverty. (42) Abrahams notes "...above all the Negro is discriminated against in almost every aspect of housing and neighborhood life, and he feels it." (1)

Numerous studies document the general inadequacy of housing conditions in urban ghetto areas. Often entire family units are crowded into single-occupancy rooms and pay exorbitant rents. (57) Buildings also tend to be old and in need of repair. Almost one-fifth of the nation's Negro population live in dilapidated and deteriorating dwellings without piped water or family bathrooms. (27) White slum dwellers occupy similar quarters.

One youth characterized the homes with which he is most familiar as follows: "...in my block in apartments where some of them have to pay maybe seventy dollars for a couple of crummy little rooms for ten or eleven people and have to share a bathroom in the hall with the door falling off...I don't think the people of Scarsdale could take it." (90) The boy's point is echoed by Edwards who notes that poor and segregated housing symbolizes the isolation of the Negro from greater society, while it perpetuates a typical institutional pattern of dysfunctioning. (24)

Few homes in blighted urban areas are furnished with objects that contribute to the development of esthetic or intellectual values. Furniture and decor are generally shabby and makeshift, imposing an environment which continually asserts that crudity can, and must, be sufficient. Books and magazines are scarce. The few available generally offer little except sensational and escapist content. Pictures, sculpture, dinnerware and other objects of art are scarce, crude and poorly cared for.

Deutsch (19) found that only 50 percent of the children he studied could recall having seen a pencil or pen in their homes. However, about

60 percent view televisions at home. Riese suggests this paucity of cultural objects limits opportunity for sensory stimulation and expression. (78)

Spiegler views the growing access to television as providing children with a window to the wider social-political world. (93) Regardless of the degree to which this is presently so, the potential is immense. While research on the use and results of televiewing among disadvantaged children and youth remains inadequate, existing facts indicate two negative results. Silberman notes the opprobrium Negro children experience as they watch television of the predominantly white world. (90) Clark concludes that the Negro viewer: "...lives in part in a world bombarded by the myths of the American middle class, confronted by harsh reality where the dreams do not come true or change into nightmares." (10)

Stability of residence is generally low in ghetto areas. Silberman notes many families move from one rooming house to another creating in turn a rapid shift in school enrollments. (90) Reasons for these shifts are clear. Many families are constantly impelled to search for less oppressive quarters. Many, unable or neglectful to pay rent, are evicted.

Even the values that might be derived from new housing are impaired by persistence of custom and by old and new fears. In a bitter essay, Baldwin has chronicled the ills of life in new housing complexes. (7) In a less emotional appraisal of circumstances of another housing project, Glazer and Moynihan conclude:

The project is now beginning to rival the slum as the environment of the poor Negroes. The projects are of course integrated,

although there is a strong tendency for the white population to decline in a few years...too few elements of a community exist to bind the elements of the projects. Social isolation of tenant from tenant is common.... Suspicion is common because there is fear of having transgressed one of the many rules of the authority...many take the view the less the neighbors know the better. (33)

Appraising the plight of those evicted when slum dwellings are razed, Lynd notes it "...almost invariably involves higher rents...the journey to work may require extra fare; complex informal arrangements for child care may no longer be available and make a cash substitute obligatory." (60)

HOUSING AND HEALTH

Studies by Keyserling, (54) Drake, (22) and Pettigrew (76) all indicate the high relationship between poverty, poor housing and ill health. Crowded living and sleeping quarters, inadequate sanitation, poor food storage facilities, insects and vermin tend to produce high rates of illness and mortality. (38) Drake cites data showing increases in Negro longevity lag 20 years behind those for whites. (22) The Negro death rate from childhood diseases is six times that for white children. (75) The incidence of respiratory and infectious childhood diseases among all slum dwelling children, such as measles, meningitis, diphtheria, and scarlet fever is high. (10) It is little wonder if the poor commonly: "...think of the body as having a limited span of utility; to be enjoyed in youth and then with age to be suffered and endured stoically." (81) It may also be that a damaged self-image makes a damaged physical condition more acceptable.

Riese notes the psychological as well as physical harm consequent of overcrowded living in deprived circumstances. She cites dearth of opportunity

for private reflection and for development of imagination as causes for the restlessness and aimlessness of children who grow up in destitute environments. (78)

Mental, as well as physical health, is often impaired. Dreger and Miller found mental disturbances among the poor substantially higher than in other population groups. (23) Macdonald found 90 percent of the poor's treated illnesses are psychotic and are treated only when persons become completely unable to function. (61) Harrington observes "...not only the rate but also the intensity of mental illness is much greater for the poor." (44)

Shaw summarizes the impact of such circumstances on children, "These children have great difficulties in personal adjustments. Delinquency is more concentrated, and destructive aggression more widespread...psychoses and completely disabling breakdowns are disproportionately high. One reason is that they receive relatively little of the ego satisfaction, the rewards, and the feelings of belonging that society has to offer." (86)

In summary, it appears evident that inner city poverty and housing result in a high incidence of both physical and psychological disabilities. In many cities large numbers of disadvantaged children suffer serious health impairments, many of which are directly associated with poverty.

THE NEIGHBORHOOD

The ghetto child's neighborhood is as congested as his home and almost equally confining. Deutsch observes, "Visually the urban slum and its overcrowded apartments offer the child a minimum range of stimuli." (18) He found 65 percent of the children he studied had never traveled beyond a 25-block

radius of their homes--additional evidence of the extent to which the disadvantaged are isolated from the larger society. (19) The few face-to-face contacts these children do have with a white society and the persons they are often asked to emulate are those in authoritarian roles. (41) Except for television, teachers, policemen and social workers, the slum child has few links with life beyond his neighborhood.

A Harlem boy clarifies the contrast: "The first things the kids learn in Scarsdale is how to read and write;.... In my neighborhood the first things the kids learn are how to fight and steal and not take any crap from anyone. We grow up knowing about narcotics. I mean we don't even remember when we didn't know about them." (90)

Padilla characterizes the slum child's neighborhood as full of garbage, noise, tenements, dope peddlers and addicts, and social workers. (73) Recreational, hospital and social facilities are generally shabby and demoralizing. (1)

Because dwellings are crowded and unpleasant, most slum children find out-of-home associations at a relatively young age. Early in their lives peer group relationships exert influences greater than those affecting middle-class children. As a result these children develop relatively high levels of precocious independence at a comparatively early age. (3) Since they associate almost exclusively with neighborhood children, the limited perceptions, fears and hostilities of the neighborhood are accentuated and reinforced.

In summary, the disadvantaged child's world is less quiet, healthy, safe or comforting than that nurturing his middle-class counterpart. Yet it

provides a security of close relationships with siblings and peers, if not with adults. While deprivation may not make the child excessively anxious, it affects almost every aspect of his self-image and his relations with others. It also has overriding influence on his perceptions of need and opportunities. This, in turn, affects his motives and his interest in learning.

Teachers can note that all of the facts reviewed above indicate this constricted environment has an adverse influence on reading interest. Low income families and neighborhoods provide little access to reading materials. The limited reading habits of adults expose children to negative reading habit models. Crowded quarters restrict space and conditions suitable for reading. Impaired mental and physical health tends to reduce interest in leisure time reading. Obviously these facts bear on the roles which teachers can reasonably expect home life to play in schooling; and on the types of special instruction these children need.

ATTITUDES, VALUES AND INTERESTS

As has been noted, disadvantaged children, especially Negroes, live in an exceptionally confined world. Their geographical mobility and their contacts with adults are restricted. Their opportunities for early perceptual development are limited. Consequently these children acquire relatively parochial concepts of their capabilities, of alternatives open to them, and of ways they can best approach objects and situations. Naturally those limited outlooks influence attitudes, values and interests.

ATTITUDES

Allport defines an attitude as a "...mental and neural state of readiness, organized through experience exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations to which it is related." (2)

Deutsch has analyzed the numerous ways segregated environments distort concepts of fruitful human relations and limit children's acquaintance with "...the tools to handle daily relationships or strategies for handling problems they must overcome to achieve individual success." (17)

Bloom, Davis and Hess have assembled evidence indicating that deprivation impels a child to adopt fatalistic attitudes about the probability that he can meet even his most basic physical needs, let alone his emotional and social needs. "Such passivity and defeatism stemming from need deprivation is learned by the child from both the realities of living and from parents." (9)

Schorr perceptively notes: "Actually the attitudes associated with the culture of poverty--passivity, cynicism, orientation to the present--are a realistic response to the facts of poverty. They help to husband energy and are important to psychic survival." (82)

Berelson and Steiner have summarized a massive body of research indicating differences in attitudes of the disadvantaged and the privileged, and of factors affecting attitude change. (7) The educational implications are vast and complex. By various processes, attitudes developed from deprivation can be changed to more nearly correspond with those of more privileged groups. This may be a desirable, even essential, educational goal. However, the process is

difficult and emotionally hazardous. Attitudes evolve as selective responses to perceived realities. They may serve the disadvantaged child as protective mechanisms which he needs to achieve and maintain mental health amidst the tensions, stress, noise and confusion of the environment from which he has no immediate escape.

SELF-IMAGES

Negro children, like others, interpret their environment largely in terms of their perceived relationships to it. Quite realistically they appraise possible opportunities for rewards and success. They develop behavior mechanisms necessary to avoid confrontation of insuperable difficulties or failure. Those pervasive efforts to do what appears necessary, possible and satisfactory under perceived circumstances affect their concepts of themselves.

Studies indicate that an effective self-image emerges early in the lives of most Negro children. (68) With poetic insight, Goodman reports facts indicating that by the age of four, "...color casts a shadow faint or strong over the lives of these children." They learn to see "group-wise" and hence "value-wise." (35) They learn early "...that the world is white and they are black, ...that beauty, success, and status all wear a white skin." (90) They acquire an awareness of stigma, "...a handicap which disqualified them from full social acceptance." (75) "Negro children clearly are more uneasy [than white children] about the topic of race.... They are compulsively interested in the topic and extremely uncomfortable with it. They are personally involved, evasive of realities, wishful about unrealities." (35) They are forced into greater

involvement with their own restricted group and simultaneously threatened by awareness of belonging to the "wrong" groups. By resisting identification with their own racial group and with parents, even young Negro children experience ego-deflation and loss of self-esteem. (3) Shepard concludes that having identified with their parents, many "...culturally disadvantaged children have severely crippled self-images, low levels of expectancy and little orientation toward school or the society it represents." (88) Research provides few facts about problems encountered by a Negro child who attempts to identify with both worlds, possible because so few do.

Deutsch, asking intermediate-age Negro children what they saw when they looked into a mirror, obtained evidence indicating cumulative development of inferior self-images. He concludes that a negative self-image is one of the two most important syndromes associated with being Negro. The other was the absence of a father. (19)

One may generalize that, regardless of race, negative self-concepts develop in part from the child's sensing that the larger society views him as inferior and expects inferior performance from him.

Contemplating that probability, Goldberg concludes: "The Negro child is heir not only to the characteristics of lower-class status, but as a member of a minority group which has historically been considered inferior, he carries the scars of every kind of discrimination, forced segregations, and limited channels of mobility." (34) Krugman notes such characteristically low self-concepts adversely influence the achievement rates and levels of children of all races. (56)

Together with low self-fulfillment expectations, many Negroes are aware of personal and group powerlessness. This sense of impotence is reflected in many aspects of children's development. Few are trained for leadership. (86)

Gordon has developed two stratification scales for measuring power. One is based on socioeconomic and political power; the other, on racial, nationality and neighborhood influence. The urban Negro child usually rates at the lower end of both. (37)

The Negro boy's subdominant position as a male within his family and culture constitutes still another force contributing to his inferior self-image. He cannot escape observation that more Negro males than females are unemployed. As might be expected, Glazier and Moynihan found more Negro boys than girls have impaired self-images. (33) As previously noted, the Negro boy growing up in a matriarchial society, sees and has direct personal contact with few males he can regard as models of behavior or success. Deutsch speculates that even sports figures and other successful personalities viewed on television seldom become models because they appear too distant. (19) There is also evidence that the positions of people such as Ralph Bunche or Willie Mays appear unimitable and, therefore, pose threats rather than models for Negro boys. If so, they may add to the sense of frustration or failure. (44) While such reactions appear incongruous at first, the possibility that they may be real is a matter for careful consideration by teachers.

The Negro boy also must rationalize the relative success of girls in school, and his own lesser achievements. His difficulties in school are often masked by hostility and resentment. These camouflage and compensate for his shabby self-image. Rosenblatt uses the term "anomie" to conceptualize responses to combinations of such threats. (81)

ANTAGONISM

Antagonism and suspicion are frequent outgrowths of the Negro child's wounded self-image. Goodman discovered Negro children to be more antagonistic toward their own group than toward whites. (35) Haggstrom notes feelings of envy and hostility displayed toward peers who succeed. (42) Clark also speculates that unrealities, uncertainties and distortions make it difficult for Negro youth to know whom to trust and whom to suspect within and without their groups. (10) Similar reactions can be noted among insecure children of all races.

Malone suggests that in threatening environments, antagonism is learned as early as three to five years of age. Children develop a danger orientation and precocious coping patterns which enable them to survive but produce a false independence as they grow older. (62)

Such patterns of awareness and response are similar to Miller's concepts of proclaimed independence and false disclaimer. Characteristically, insecure children seek out a highly restrictive environment. There, they learn to rely on authoritative external controls for a sense of direction. The resultant rigidities retard development of their capacities to cope with larger or changing environments. (65)

VALUES

Values are here conceived as rather permanent "...beliefs about what is...desirable...and what is...undesirable.... Values reflect the culture of a society and are widely shared by members of the culture." (55)

INFLUENCES OF ENVIRONMENT UPON VALUES

Values are influenced by physical environment, interpersonal relationships, aspirations and perceptions of what is feasible. Shaw notes deprived youth basically "...have the same drives for achievement, recognition, and acceptance as their peers." (86) Many sociologists have observed urban Negroes tend to share middle-class aspirations, such as financial success and education for their children. They are, however, thwarted by limited opportunity, as well as limited knowledge, about how to achieve such goals. Appraising the barriers between aspiration and attainment Clark observes:

Large numbers of ghetto youth caught in the paradox of the ghetto, are unable to resolve their personal conflicts within positive and socially acceptable forms of adjustment or in direct and assertive antisocial behavior. They are aware of the values and standards of the larger society, but they know that they are not equipped to meet its demands. (10)

To varying degrees all of the above influences have similar impact on the personal development of all disadvantaged children regardless of race. Rodman conceives a "stretched value system" as a behavioral mechanism for response to such conflicts. He suggests that the poor "...share the general values of the society...but...they have stretched these values, or developed alternative values which help them to adjust to their deprived circumstances.... The

resultant is a stretched value system with a low degree of commitment to all the values within the ranges." (80)

EXTERNAL CAUSALITY

While the urban poor share many values and interests with the larger society, substantial differences exist. They are more prone to accept limiting circumstances and events as causal factors that determine the direction of their lives. The poor tend to conceive environmental limitations as fate, luck or chance. (42) They reflect belief, by words and actions, that destiny sets forces in motion over which they have almost no control. While such response is akin to superstition, it is more inclusive and exercises a more general influence on behavior. (65)

IMMEDIATE SATISFACTIONS

Because the poor seldom have assurance of security or comfort beyond essentials for existence, they understandably place large value on the immediate and the concrete. They value commodities and direct personal relationships that provide tangible satisfactions. (9) They have relatively little emotional margin for consideration of long-range goals or indirect relationships with unknown persons. Reasons for this are suggested by the Ausabels. They note that learned fear of deprivation drives individuals "...to get all they can of physical gratification, while the getting is good." (3) It is a psychological commonplace that high anxiety narrows perceptions forcing individuals to be concerned mainly about immediate needs. As Haggstrom notes, the time perspective of people living on thresholds of poverty is foreshortened by a feeling that thought or plans

for the future are futile. (42) Neither the past nor the future offer the poor any reason to hope for dependable long-range satisfaction. The unsatisfactory past tends to be rejected because it offers slight guide to any perceivably better future. (77) Experience seems to have demonstrated that short-range plans and transient gratifications prove to be most rewardful and feasible. (42) Clark offers an insightful explanation of such preoccupation with the immediate by noting: "...the ghetto fails to prepare one for voluntary sacrifices precisely because it demands so many involuntary ones." (10)

Isolation and limits of experience also contribute to heavy dependence on immediate satisfactions. Familiar rewards are credible and perceived to be achievable. One cannot perceive the larger satisfactions inherent in circumstances or relationships with which he is unfamiliar. For these reasons disadvantaged children and adults tend to place "...particular stress on the intimate, the sensory, the detailed, the personal. Not struggling to escape their circumstance [they] often regard their ordinary lives as being of much intrinsic interest. This is related to their primary concern with the problem of survival." (42)

Obviously, necessary concern for meeting immediate needs reduces the amount of time and energy available for either contemplation or pursuit of more distant benefits. This probably is a reason why both children and parents value the utilitarian elements of education more highly than intellectual or cultural aspects.

CONCERN FOR TROUBLE

Relatively high crime and delinquency rates in the inner city attest that the poor also experience abnormal shares of "trouble." "Getting into trouble, and staying out of it, are major concerns of adults and children." (42) The psychological response to expectation of troubles is indicated by the comments of a girl who sketched a human figure accentuating legs and feet, but slighting hands, "...legs mean more than hands, so I give them more attention.... If you can run you're OK, but if you take something you're in trouble." Negro slum parents express anxiety about their loss of control over young children and a conscious desire to understand why children "get in trouble." (90)

FEAR OF FAILURE

Riessman notes disadvantaged children experience more than ordinary fear of failure, especially in school. (79) Riese speculates that when these children meet people whose standards appear unachievably higher than their own, a sense of "paralyzed inadequacy" impairs effort and frustrates hope of matching such ideal figures. (78) Deutsch found Negro children tend to be more fearful and dysphoric in general than white children. (19) If, as many suggest, a child begins life with a negative self-image, fear and unease are predictable results. This may account, in part, for evidence that disadvantaged children value success more than happiness. (92) It may also explain why, to an abnormal degree, they feel more secure in familiar circumstances. Many find new experiences threatening rather than stimulating.

MASCULINITY

Riessman notes the large value disadvantaged boys ascribed to toughness and masculinity. (79) More specifically, Miller (65) found low income groups tend to value strength and endurance, athletic skill, fearlessness and success in physical combat. Davis found slum children are taught to have courage to fight; that physical aggression is laudable and essential. In such a milieu they learn to admire and acquire traits perceived to be useful for acceptance and survival. They deny regard for sentiment, or for "art," or "literature." (15)

"SMARTNESS"

Miller obtained evidence that "smartness" is valued highly, especially when one is in the company of others. This is conceived as a capacity to outwit another, especially to protect one's own advantage. It implies a "...capacity to achieve a valued objective with a maximum use of mental agility and minimum use of physical effort." (65) Analyzing acts and responses involved in group relationships, both Riessman (79) and Miller (65) note the high premium placed on horseplay, kidding, inventiveness and hair-trigger responses.

FORMAL APPLICATION OF STANDARDS

Semler and Iscoe point out the disadvantaged child receives little stimulation in his impoverished environment to seek new experiences. (83) Much more than middle-class children, he is bound by tradition and culture. He approaches new ideas or new people with extraordinary suspicion and apprehension. This perhaps can be viewed as a retardation of maturation and sophistication.

For instance, Dolger and Ginandes report the disadvantaged children they studied consistently demonstrated thought processes similar to those of younger children. Their moral judgments tended to reflect the letter of the law rather than the spirit. They believed misdeeds should be avenged, not forgotten. (21)

PRAGMATISM

Anthropologists have long documented the truism that cultural differences evoke and reinforce disparate value systems; and divergent values tend to create dissimilar perceptions. Riessman observes the disadvantaged child is likely to be more pragmatic than his more affluent middle-class counterpart. Vocational education interests him more than academic. (79) He places relatively slight value on learning for its own sake. These children view education largely as something that should help them to reach a tangible goal in the near future. They have a relatively slight interest in learning only related to remote future goals.

The occupational, cultural and social goals of most disadvantaged youth are relatively low. (9) More important, even those limited aspirations are only vaguely perceived and poorly supported by either the knowledge or resolution essential for fulfillment. (91) Equally significant, most children who aim at middle-class goals do so unrealistically. They have distorted concepts of both their opportunities to achieve such goals and the types of study essential for achievement.

Gordon's study of 700 disadvantaged elementary school pupils, however, provides data indicating that while occupational aspirations probably are

unrealistic, they are characterized by a strong service ethic. Many want to be teachers or nurses, in order "to help people." While such evidence is tenuous, it suggests a motivation of immense educational potential. (36)

INTERESTS

Getzel defines interest as a characteristic disposition impelling an individual to seek out a particular object, activity or goal. (32) That concept can serve as a useful framework for consideration of the following facts.

Disadvantaged children tend to be interested in the exciting and the active. They prefer occupations that involve physical action. These children respond to new, colorful commodities and machines. Boys are intrigued by sports and other activities combining suspense, stress, and testing of strength and endurance. (79)

Impoverished homes contain few books or magazines; children's interest in reading is understandably slight. Silberman reports many disadvantaged youth never learn to read fluently. They never experience the motivation derived from discovery that they can do so successfully. (90) However, observation indicates if the material is interesting and suitable, deprived children will read. Silberman believes those few who do read, do so mainly for vicarious experiences that provide escape from slum boredom and confinement. (90) On the basis of his work with underprivileged teen-age youth, Spiegler suggests, to be interesting, a book must be: "...fast moving, simply written, action packed.... It must have lots of adventure, plenty of excitement and slews of interesting facts.... Good pictures, big print, and stories which come to the point are essential

qualities. Animals, aviation, careers, hobbies, sports, sea and westerns are subjects which appear to be enjoyed." (93)

ATTITUDES TOWARD EDUCATION

The performance of pupils is affected by attitudes toward schooling as well as by ability. It is useful, therefore, to examine some facts about relationships between attitudes and performance.

Evidence of the value placed upon education by the urban poor is conflicting. Much of what is reported reflects a specific focus which may be misleading if other foci are not also considered. The Ausabels found most parents and associates of lower social class children place slight value on education. (3) Harris notes that neighborhood influence also may be strongly anti-intellectual and, in any case, it places little importance on educational accomplishment. (45) Deutsch, however, points to the probability that few parents are actively hostile to schooling. Instead, they are simply not informed about the benefits to be derived from education. Keller found parents of poor urban families strongly desire their children to continue schooling. She also discovered: "...white families were satisfied with their children's school performance, while Negro parents were very much concerned about their children's work." (53) Glazer and Moynihan substantiate Keller's findings. They observe many slum families, particularly Negro families, "...continually emphasize to children the theme of the importance of education as a means of getting ahead." (33)

If, however, one notes that education does not "pay off" in earning power as well for Negroes as for other citizens, he must ponder just what value

a Negro child realistically can place on schooling. Teachers need awareness that experience and circumstances provide reason for both disadvantaged children and their parents to be uncertain about the purposes and values of education.

STUDENT CHARACTERISTICS

Evidence indicating some attitudes, self-concepts, values and interests affecting a disadvantaged child's educational outlooks has been reviewed above. Other studies provide additional data about personal characteristics influencing his performance in school.

Bloom, Davis and Hess have assembled data showing few of these children are prepared for either the reduced amounts of physical activity or the sustained periods of attention demanded by most instructional procedures. (9)

The HARYOU study indicates Negro children tend to be withdrawn and hostile toward authority figures. They develop consonance of school conduct more slowly than whites. (43) Deutsch believes their achievement is retarded by a general lack of persistence when a task is difficult and inadequate systems of internal rewards. (19) Unfamiliarity with either the language patterns or the instructional materials used in schools handicaps slum children. (97) Fusco notes the substantial degree to which poor comprehension of middle-class language impairs performance. (31) While richly verbal in their own fashion, disadvantaged children have difficulty responding to the "advanced linguistic forms" of the middle class. (18)

Riessman has assembled evidence indicating the culturally disadvantaged child appears to have a physical and visual "style" of learning. He is

inclined to work at a leisurely pace. He acquires generalizations slowly. In general, he appears to be less persevering in difficult tasks than more privileged children. A disadvantaged child is more prone to tenaciously pursue a familiar interest or a habitual approach to a problem. (79) While recognizing the usefulness of such evidence, Shepard cautions: "It would be a serious mistake to conclude from these facts that the 'style of learning' of culturally disadvantaged children is basically different from those of other groups." (88) Certainly their present differences are results of experience and not measures of their potentials. No differences in basic intelligence have been identified.

Groff found more white than Negro students have feelings of inadequacy in school. (41) This evidence supports Riessman's findings that they fear failure and Wylie's data indicating their achievement expectations are lower than those of whites. (79)

Negro students coming from intellectually impoverished homes tend to be deficient in perceptual skills. Seeking escape from noisy and discordant living conditions, they have learned not to listen. Consequently, educationally useful auditory skills are poorly developed. Memorization skills and vocabularies are limited. Many students have acquired only slight capacity to follow directions. (9) While the school gives high prestige value to books, the content of the books it provides seldom deals with matters corresponding with the disadvantaged child's image of life. Deutsch also notes little curriculum content has a meaningful relationship to the child's experience or goals. The child is uncertain about what to expect from school and has difficulty reconciling what he encounters there

with what he perceives to be the realities of his existence. (18) Perhaps most important of all, relatively few of these children have been conditioned to either seek or value the rewards the school is prepared to bestow.

Deutsch speculates such characteristics probably evoke much of the behavior that impels teachers to use large amounts of time for discipline instead of instruction. He estimates disciplinary effort in slum schools engages as much as 80 percent of some teachers' time; this percentage is seldom less than fifty. (18)

Much evidence shows that children of the inner city perform "...far below norms for the city and the country as a whole." (94) Sexton's study delineates wide discrepancies in the educational achievement of pupils from families of different income levels. (85)

Bloom, Davis and Hess have assembled evidence showing sixth grade pupils have a cumulative deficit of achievement in reading and arithmetic. (9) A comparative I.Q. study by Deutsch and Brown produced data indicating the serious extent to which cumulative deficits impair performance in later school years. (20) HARYOU obtained evidence indicating the longer disadvantaged pupils remain in school, the larger the proportion becomes whose performance falls below grade level. (43)

Such evidence provides a framework for interpretation of facts indicating comparative levels of achievement in specific educational areas.

READING ACHIEVEMENT

In 1960, New York City schools issued a statement recognizing the unsatisfactory and spotty results of recent efforts to enlarge the reading skills of

underprivileged pupils. The report noted reading retardation continues to increase steadily as pupils proceed through the grades. (71) While available facts are inadequate, they indicate, regardless of race, most children living in impoverished environments are substantially retarded. Using data on file in city school offices, HARYOU found 1962 third grade pupils in Central Harlem were fully one year behind the mean achievement levels of New York City pupils; by sixth grade they were nearly two years behind. (43) An analysis of sixth grade reading test scores, obtained from the Board of Education reports, showed a mean of 5.0 for Negro pupils, 4.4 for Puerto Ricans, and 7.0 for all others. (94) The HARYOU figures indicate general retardation in all component skills measured to obtain composite scores. There is little reason to believe the facts would be substantially different in the slum areas of other cities.

I.Q. SCORES

I.Q. scores cast additional light on the cumulative retardation of disadvantaged children. Many current interpretations of I.Q. data assume the validity of observations that scores, to a considerable degree, reflect environment and experience as well as innate intelligence. As early as 1951 Eells cautioned: "...interpretation of I.Q. differences between pupils of different cultural background should be made with extreme cautions...that their scores true significance cannot be stated with any degree of certainty on the basis of current research knowledge." (25)

Recently Fischer has reviewed additional evidence indicating culturally deprived environments may affect a child's measured I.Q. by an average of

twenty points. (29) Such variation cannot be accounted for by application of general statements concerning the standard deviation of scores of current I.Q. tests.

Assuming the validity of the above interpretations, it is relevant to note, as a group, Negro pupils' I.Q. scores are generally lower than whites' and Negro scores decline as pupils proceed through school.

Perhaps of greater educational significance, "Psychologists' studies of entire first grades in Harlem, using individual psychological examinations, generally yield normal distributions. Median scores in group verbal tests administered some years later are invariably lower." (71) The HARYOU study shows sixth grade pupils in Central Harlem score lower than those in third grade. (43) Without casting aspersions on dedicated teachers and administrators, candor requires confrontation of the fact that pupil experiences in those schools result in a cumulative retardation of development.

SEX AND SCHOOL PERFORMANCE

An abundance of evidence indicates girls generally earn better grades than boys. Normal maturation patterns give girls a head start in language based subjects. Those differences, however, tend to even out in the middle grades. Relating performance to socioeconomic status, Sexton found boys of lower economic class families are the least successful of all youth. (84) Deutsch's data indicates by sixth grade, Negro girls generally exceed boys only in reading. (19) The Ausables, however, found girls out performing boys in all areas. They explain their evidence by noting: "...opportunity for acquiring primary status in the

school is greater for girls than boys because of their superior verbal fluency and greater conformity to adult authority along with greater achievement needs." (3) A similar study conducted by New York City schools showed third grade girls' reading scores higher than those of boys with differences disappearing in the sixth grade. (70) In general, Negro boys achieve less than any other group of pupils.

FACILITIES AND EXPENDITURES

External factors also influence teacher capacities to either ascertain or foster individual needs and interest. Despite recent acceleration of school construction, many buildings housing disadvantaged pupils remain structurally demoralizing and distracting. Buildings serving minority neighborhoods are generally older, less adequate and not as well maintained as schools in predominantly white areas. They provide less floor and playground space, and fewer special rooms. Many already unsatisfactory buildings continue to deteriorate while enrollments increase. Likewise, teacher-pupil ratios are higher in those schools.

Generally, per pupil expenditures are relatively low. So are expenditures for books and other instructional materials. Library facilities have been poor or nonexistent until recent years. (59)

TEACHERS

Obviously, teachers have a major influence on the extent to which pupils' interests are recognized and enlarged. While much has been written regarding such influence, few hard data are available. However, the following

facts indicate the limited capabilities of some entrusted with instruction of disadvantaged children.

Many teachers assigned to core city schools have had little or no preparation for working with impoverished children. Lerner is outspoken in his belief that most teachers are too immersed in middle-class outlooks to teach disadvantaged children successfully. (58) HARYOU also notes the teachers' middle-class values and perceptions impede effective communication between teachers and pupils. (43) Haubrich has analyzed teachers' serious misconceptions of disadvantaged pupils' preschool experiences. As would be expected, he notes such teachers experience difficulties in understanding and working with them. (46) Those difficulties are accentuated when teachers with the least experience are assigned to slum schools and, more so, when supervision is inadequate. (43)

In Chicago, Sexton found integrated and Negro schools are manned by disproportionate numbers of uncertified teachers, many of whom are used as substitutes. (84) In many schools half of the teachers are substitutes. Some classes operate year-round without a regularly assigned teacher. Under such circumstances few teachers are familiar with pupils' backgrounds.

To make matters worse, teacher turnover in depressed area schools is exceptionally high. In some, it reaches 61 percent each year. Short tenure decreases teachers' opportunity to acquire an understanding of disadvantaged pupils. Adding to the disparities inherent in high turnover rates, some competent teachers refuse to work in "undesirable" neighborhoods. Others find work in such circumstances so wearing that they seek transfers to more pleasant assignments. (58)

TEACHERS' PERCEPTIONS OF PUPILS

Recent studies provide information indicating teachers respond differently to white and Negro children, as well as to children of different social classes. (9) Gottlieb compared Negro and white elementary school teachers' views of their students. He found Negro teachers manning schools in low income areas expressed more satisfaction with their work. They also tended to see Negro students as fun-loving, happy, cooperative, energetic and ambitious. White teachers perceived the same students as talkative, lazy, fun-loving, high strung and frivolous. (39)

A similar study by Davidson and Lang revealed teachers generally rated classroom behavior of lower-class children as undesirable even when their academic achievements were good. Children became aware of teachers' critical attitudes and acquired lower perceptions of themselves. (14) Exemplifying what Deutsch terms "poor self-fulfillment prophesy," those same children subsequently achieved less and behaved less satisfactorily. (19)

There is also a growing body of information which implies many teachers feel the lower-class child is intellectually limited. (43) Riessman notes a similar belief based on his conversations with teachers. (79) Silberman suggests: "The teacher who assumes that her children cannot learn very much will discover that she has a class of children who are indeed unable to learn." (90)

EPILOGUE

Perhaps little of the foregoing evidence is as precise as might be desired. None is absolute. Indeed, attitudes, aspirations, hopes, fears and aversions are abstractions, difficult to quantify. Competent researchers and teachers recognize the need for more research with more exact measures.

The concepts and facts in hand, however, are useful. They indicate ways teachers and administrators can do more to meet the desperate needs of disadvantaged children and youth. Moral principle and professional conscience assert our obligation to proceed with improvements made possible by the knowledge we now possess.

REFERENCES

1. Charles Abrams, "The Housing Problem and the Negro," Daedalus, 95:65, Winter, 1966.
2. Gordon Allport in Handbook of Social Psychology, Carl A. Murchison, editor (Worcester, Massachusetts: Clark University Press, 1935).
3. David P. Ausabel and Pearl Ausabel, "Ego Development Among Segregated Negro Children," Education in Depressed Areas, A. Harry Passow, editor (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1963).
4. James Baldwin, "East River, Downtown: Postscript to a Letter from Harlem," Nobody Knows My Name (New York: Dell Publishing Company, 1961).
5. James Baldwin, "Fifth Avenue Uptown: A Letter from Harlem," Nobody Knows My Name: More Notes of a Native Son (New York: Dell Publishing Company, 1961).
6. Alan Batchelder, "Poverty: The Special Case of the Negro," Poverty in America: A Book of Readings, Louis A. Ferman, Joyce L. Kornbluh, and Alan Haber, editors (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1965).
7. Bernard Berelson and Gary A. Steiner, Human Behavior: An Inventory of Scientific Readings (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1964).
8. Edwin C. Berry, "Transcript of the American Academy Conference on the Negro American--May 14-15, 1965," Daedalus, 95:291, Winter, 1966.
9. Benjamin S. Bloom, Allison Davis, and Robert Hess, Compensatory Education for Cultural Deprivation, Based on Working Papers Contributed by Participants in the Research Conference on Education and Cultural Deprivation (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965).
10. Kenneth B. Clark, Dark Ghetto: Dilemmas of Social Power (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1965).
11. Robert Coles, "It's the Same, but It's Different," Daedalus, 94:1111, Fall, 1965.

12. James B. Conant, "Slums and Suburbs," (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1961).
13. Conference on Economic Progress, Poverty and Deprivation in the United States: The Plight of Two-Fifths of a Nation (Washington, D.C.: The Conference, 1962).
14. Helen K. Davidson and Gertrude Lang, "Children's Perceptions of Their Teachers' Feelings Toward Them Related to Self-Perception, School Achievement and Behavior," Journal of Experimental Education, 29:107-18, December, 1960.
15. Allison Davis, "Society, the School and the Culturally Deprived Student," Improving English Skills of Culturally Different Youth, Arno Jewett, editor (U.S. Office of Education Bulletin, No. 5, 1964, Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1964).
16. Delmo Della-Dora, "The Culturally Disadvantaged: Educational Implications of Certain Social-Cultural Phenomena," Exceptional Children, 28:468, May, 1962.
17. Martin Deutsch, "Dimensions of the School's Role in the Problems of Integration," Integrating the Urban School, Gordon J. Klopff and Israel A.A. Laster, editors, Proceedings of the Conference on Integration in the New York City Public Schools (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1963).
18. Martin Deutsch, "The Disadvantaged Child and the Learning Process," Education in Depressed Areas, A. Harry Passow, editor (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1963).
19. Martin Deutsch, Minority Group and Class Status as Related to Social and Personality Factors in Scholastic Achievement (Society for Applied Anthropology, Monograph No. 2, 1960. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University, 1960).
20. Martin Deutsch and B. Brown, "Social Influences in Negro-White Intelligence Differences," Journal of Social Issues, 20:24-35, Winter, 1964.
21. Laura Dolger and Janet Ginandes, "Children's Attitude Toward Discipline as Related to Socioeconomic Status," Journal of Experimental Education, 15:161-65, December, 1946.
22. St. Clair Drake, "The Social and Economic Status of the Negro in the United States," Daedalus, 94:783, Fall, 1965.

23. R. M. Dreger and K. Miller, "Comparative Psychological Studies of Negroes and Whites in the United States," Psychological Bulletin, 57:361-402, 1960.
24. G. Franklin Edwards, "Community and Class Realities: The Ordeal of Change," Daedalus, 95:8, Winter, 1966.
25. Kenneth Eells and others, Intelligence and Cultural Difference, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951).
26. Erik H. Erickson, "The Concept of Identity in Race Relations: Notes and Queries," Daedalus, 95:162, Winter, 1966.
27. Rachi Fein, "An Economic and Social Profile of the American Negro," Daedalus, 94:837, Fall, 1965.
28. Louis A. Ferman, Joyce L. Kornbluh, and Alan Haber (editors), Poverty in America: A Book of Readings (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1965).
29. John H. Fischer, "Race and Reconciliation: The Role of the School," Daedalus, 95:38, Winter, 1966.
30. Elena Fudilla, Up from Puerto Rico (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958).
31. Gene C. Fusco, "Preparing the City Child for His School," School Life, 46:5-8, May, 1964.
32. Jacob Getzels, "The Nature of Reading Interests: Psychological Aspects," Developing Permanent Interest in Reading, Helen Robinson, editor, University of Chicago Conference on Reading (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956).
33. Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan, Beyond the Melting Pot: The Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians and Irish in New York City, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press and Harvard University Press, 1963).
34. Miriam L. Goldberg, "Factors Affecting Educational Attainment in Depressed Urban Areas," Education in Depressed Areas, A. Harry Passow, editor (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1963).

35. Mary Ellen Goodman, Race Awareness in Young Children (Cambridge: Addison-Wesley Press, 1952).
36. John E. Gordon, "They Want to be Somebody," Elementary English, 39:770-71, December, 1962.
37. Milton M. Gordon, Social Class in American Society (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1958).
38. Barry Gottehrer, New York City in Crisis: A Study in Depth of Urban Sickness, prepared by the New York Herald Tribune staff under the direction of Barry Gottehrer (New York: Pocket Book Special, 1965).
39. D. Gottlieb, "Teaching and Students: The Views of Negro and White Teachers," Sociology of Education, 37:345-53, Summer, 1964.
40. Eunice Grier and George Grier, "Equality and Beyond: Housing Segregation in the Great Society," Daedalus, 95:77, Winter, 1966.
41. Regina M. Groff, "Some Educational Implications of the Influence of Rejection on Aspiration Levels of Minority Group Children," Journal of Experimental Education, 23:179-83, December, 1954.
42. Warren C. Haggstrom, "The Power of the Poor," Poverty in America: A Book of Readings, Louis A. Ferman, Joyce L. Kornbluh, and Alan Haber, editors (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1965).
43. Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited, Youth in the Ghetto: A Study of the Consequences of Powerlessness and a Blueprint for Change (New York: HARYOU, Inc., 1964).
44. Michael Harrington, The Other America: Poverty in the United States (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1963).
45. Albert J. Harris, "Reading and Human Development," Development in and Through Reading, Sixtieth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part I (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961).
46. Vernon F. Haubrich, "Teachers and Resources in the Slum Complex," Claremont Reading Conference Yearbook (Claremont, California: Claremont College, 1964).

47. Vernon F. Haubrich, "Teachers for Big-City Schools," Education in Depressed Areas, A. Harry Passow, editor (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1963).
48. Phillip M. Hauser, "Demographic Factors in the Integration of the Negro," Daedalus, 94:866, Fall, 1965.
49. Phillip M. Hauser, "Transcript of the American Academy Conference on the Negro American--May 14-15, 1965," Daedalus, 95:299-300, Winter, 1966.
50. Robert J. Havighurst, "Who are the Socially Disadvantaged?" Journal of Negro Education, 33:203-204, Summer, 1964.
51. Everett C. Hughes, "Anomalies and Projections," Daedalus, 94:1134, Fall, 1965.
52. David R. Hunter, "Can It be Done?" Urban Education and Cultural Deprivation, C.W. Hunnicutt, editor (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University School of Education, 1964).
53. Susanne Keller, "The Social World of the Urban Slum Child: Some Early Findings," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 33:831, October, 1963.
54. Leon H. Keyserling, Progress or Poverty: The U.S. at the Crossroad, (Washington, D.C.: Conference on Economic Progress, 1964).
55. David Krech, Richard Crutchfield, and Egerton Ballachey, The Individual in Society: A Textbook of Social Psychology (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1962).
56. Morris Krugman, "Educating the Disadvantaged Child," The Schools and the Urban Crisis, August Kerber and Barbara Bommarito, editors (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965).
57. Jacob Landers, "Higher Horizons Program in New York City," Programs for the Educationally Disadvantaged: A Report, A Conference on Teaching Children and Youth Who are Educationally Disadvantaged, United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1963).
58. Jeremy Larner, "The New York School Crisis," Poverty in America: A Book of Readings, Louis A. Ferman, Joyce L. Kornbluh and Alan Haber, editors (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1965).

59. Jean Lowrie, "Providing School Library Services for the Culturally Deprived: Fitting the Program to the Problem," American Library Association Bulletin, 59:49-53, January, 1965.
60. Staughton Lynd, "Urban Renewal--for Whom?" New Perspectives on Poverty, Arthur B. Shostak and William Gomberg, editors (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1965).
61. Dwight Macdonald, "Our Invisible Poor," Poverty in America: A Book of Readings, Louis A. Ferman, Joyce L. Kornbluh and Alan Haber, editors (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1965).
62. Charles Malone, "Safety First: Comments on the Influences of External Danger in the Lives of Children of Disorganized Families," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 36:4-5, January, 1966.
63. Carl Marburger, "Working Toward More Effective Education: A Report on the Detroit Great Cities Project--After One Year," Programs for the Educationally Disadvantaged: A Report, A Conference on Teaching Children and Youth Who are Educationally Disadvantaged, United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1963).
64. S.M. Miller, "The American Lower Classes: A Typological Approach," New Perspectives on Poverty, Arthur E. Shostak and William Gomberg, editors (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1965).
65. Walter B. Miller, "Focal Concerns of Lower-Class Culture," Poverty in America: A Book of Readings, Louis A. Ferman, Joyce L. Kornbluh, and Alan Haber, editors (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1965).
66. Daniel P. Moynihan, "Employment, Income and the Ordeal of the Negro Family," Daedalus, 94:761, Fall, 1965.
67. The Negro Family, U.S. Department of Labor, Office of Policy Planning and Research, 1965.
68. Negro Self Concept: Implications for School and Citizenship, A Report of a Conference Sponsored by the Lincoln Filene Center for Citizenship and Public Affairs (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1965).
69. Eunice S. Newton, "Planning for the Language Development of Disadvantaged Children and Youth," Journal of Negro Education, 33:268-69, Summer, 1964.

70. New York City, Department of Education, School Functioning of Pupils Born in Other Areas and in New York City (New York City Board of Education, Pamphlet No. 168, New York: The Board, 1961).
71. New York City, Department of Education, Toward Greater Opportunity: A Progress Report (New York: Board of Education of the City of New York, 1960).
72. Oscar Ornati, "Poverty in America," Poverty in America: A Book of Readings, Louis A. Ferman, Joyce L. Kornbluh and Alan Haber, editors (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1965).
73. Elean Padilla, Up from Puerto Rico (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958).
74. Talcott Parsons, "Full Citizenship for the American Negro? A Sociological Problem," Daedalus, 94:1044-50, Fall, 1965.
75. Thomas F. Pettigrew, "Complexity and Change in American Racial Patterns: A Social Psychological View," Daedalus, 94:996, Fall, 1965.
76. Thomas F. Pettigrew, A Profile of the Negro American (New York: Van Nostrand, 1964).
77. Fritz Redl, "'Disadvantaged'--and What Else?" Urban Education and Cultural Deprivation, C.W. Hunnicutt, editor (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University School of Education, 1964).
78. Herta Riese, Heal the Hurt Child: An Approach Through Educational Therapy with Specific Reference to the Extremely Deprived Negro Child (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962).
79. Frank Riessman, The Culturally Deprived Child (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1962).
80. Hyman Rodman, "The Lower-Class Value Stretch," Poverty in America: A Book of Readings, Louis A. Ferman, Joyce L. Kornbluh and Alan Haber, editors (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1965).
81. Daniel Rosenblatt, "Barriers to Medical Care for the Urban Poor," New Perspectives on Poverty, Arthur B. Shostak and William Gomberg, editors (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1965).
82. Alvin L. Schorr, "The Non-Culture of Poverty," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 34:211, March, 1964.

83. Ira I. Semler and Ira Iscoe, "A Comparative and Developmental Study of Learning Abilities of Negro and White Children Under Four Conditions," Journal of Educational Psychology, 54:38-44, February, 1963.
84. Patricia C. Sexton, "City Schools," Poverty in America: A Book of Readings, Louis A. Ferman, Joyce L. Kornbluh and Alan Haber, editors (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1965).
85. Patricia C. Sexton, Education and Income: Inequalities of Opportunity in Our Public Schools (New York: Viking Press, 1961).
86. Frederick Shaw, "Educating Culturally Deprived Youth in Urban Centers," The Schools and the Urban Crisis, August Kerber and Barbara Bommarito, editors (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965).
87. Eleanor Bernert Sheldon and Raymond A. Glazier, Pupils and Schools in New York City: A Fact Book (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1965).
88. Samuel Shepard, Jr., "Working with Parents of Disadvantaged Children," Urban Education and Cultural Deprivation, C.W. Hunnicutt, editor (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University School of Education, 1964).
89. Arthur B. Shostak, "Educational Reforms and Poverty," New Perspectives on Poverty, Arthur B. Shostak and William Gomberg, editors (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1965).
90. Charles E. Silberman, Crisis in Black and White (New York: Vintage Books, 1964).
91. Marjorie Smiley, "Research and Its Implications," Improving English Skills of Culturally Different Youth, Arno Jewett, editor (U.S. Office of Education Bulletin No. 5, 1964. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1964).
92. H.P. Smith and Marcia Anderson, "Racial and Family Experience Correlates of Mobility and Aspiration," Journal of Negro Education, 31:117-24, Winter, 1962.
93. Charles G. Spiegler, "A Cure for Allergy to Reading," Education Digest, 29:36-38, April, 1964.
94. Teachers College, Institute of Urban Studies, "The Educationally Disadvantaged Urban Child: A Proposal to Establish an Urban Educational Research Center" (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1963). (Mimeographed)

95. Lewis Terman and Margaret Lima, Children's Reading: A Guide for Parents and Teachers, second edition (New York: Appleton-Century Company, 1931).
96. Daniel C. Thompson, "Our Wasted Potential," Integrating the Urban School, Gordon J. Klopf and Israel A. Laster, editors, Proceedings of the Conference on Integration in the New York City Public Schools (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1963).
97. Clemmont E. Vontress, "Our Demoralizing Slum Schools," The Schools and the Urban Crisis, August Kerber and Barbara Bommarito, editors (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965).
98. Gertrude Whipple, "The Culturally and Socially Deprived Reader," The Underachiever in Reading, Helen Robinson, editor, University of Chicago Conference on Readings (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962).
99. Ruth C. Wylie, "Children's Estimates of Their Schoolwork Ability, as a Function of Sex, Race, and Socio-Economic Status," Journal of Personality, 31:203-24, June, 1963.